

SECRET. CONTROL

October 1951

Dear Shan, (NHAN is MARCO, father of KOLIQI)

I received a letter from you addressed to another person, in which you tell me that you have sent me a book: The History of World Literature by Frampolini. The book has reached the interested party. He thanks you and, having seen the high price of the book, is sorry for the great expense incurred.

He is most satisfied, but regrets the cost, since you cannot permit yourself such expenditures.

Not in repayment, because it would be too little, but as a duty he is incumbent to write this letter of thanks, explaining also the situation of the emigrants, in which you certainly are interested.

We are a considerable number, growing daily due to circumstances and the insurmountable difficulties in Albania and due to the noble hospitality of the (Communist Government?) of Yugoslavia.

As of 10 May 1951 we are organized against the Government of Tirana and have a published and simple program: the overthrow of the government of Enver Hoxha, the constitution of a democratic government and a state independent and inviolate within its borders (naturally those of today).

From that date and up to the present, the activity of the heads of the organization, formally elected by us, is invisible, while the tactics are always the same as before.

All the activity of the workers who are sent across the border is the same: the struggle against the Communists there (this is how the directives are given) and propaganda among them; invitations to come here (if they are in danger); the others also are accepted and especially those who have a name and a certain influence. For the moment they do not make any ideological and party distinctions, even if the activity is controlled, the sources and persons are exploited.

Every activity or initiative is a privilege and in the hands of the secret state organs. They find many elements among us who, merely because they are well treated, consent to serve without knowing the scope of the service. Generally these persons are responsible members of groups.

Recently they showed extraordinary attention to the activity there and especially to the formation of resistance groups of parachutists.

With this message, I add the declaration that they are not against any party which fights Hoxha, Enver; thus, the excellent reception of even your most recent groups, about which I hope you have been informed.

The Yugoslav Government desires collaboration but, as far as I know, with the assimilation of the others without giving too much freedom.

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This is, I think, the principal aim of the collaboration since, in substance, it does not work out but only, as at first, with the same persons and not even with your principles.

Perhaps the Yugoslav Government would like to have a contact to win over all those who are there, but only after having prepared the ground in such a way that there are neither rivals nor adversaries in its part.

This demonstrates the fact of the separation of the various elements and the isolation of the others with their own blocs or with their own loyal collaborators.

Every action from there into Albania or in the international political field is badly viewed by the Yugoslavs. Yugoslavia would like the liberation of Albania as its own privilege.

What is the aim of all this philanthropism with us and with the other parties? They are unable to demonstrate it with much proof; only, according to my point of view, I think that the Yugoslav Government wants to have the right of liberating Albania in which it would form its "own" government (which would resemble that which existed before the Resolution of 1948) which would not have any demands.

It would like the boundaries between Albania and Yugoslavia to be established and that no difficulties or formalities exist for the passage from one state to the other. It would like us to feel no longer any nostalgia for our country but instead to request closer ties and relations as if we were one single state.

I cannot ascertain if our leaders have given any promises of that sort, or if among our leaders there are elements which, for personal ambition, would be ready to do anything, whatever it is. Therefore, the healthy and honest elements among us beg and demand of you, more than of the others, that you take interest in the matter, that our ethnical rights for tomorrow may be defended in the international field and that, together with our liberation, we may also gain that which belongs to us as a nation and as a race.

Herein, I think should lie your greatest political activity, since we are unable to see better, nor do we have any other possibilities because we are incapable and assimilated We expect so much from you and from our other friends. Permit me to say this to you: Do not write to anyone who is not influential in political questions of great importance and, even more, do not mention in your letters the names of any persons who write or any others, since each relationship of that type may become compromising and dangerous. You, Shan, know the importance of these things, therefore I politely beg you, together with our other friends, to be very reserved politically with friends residing in these parts. As regards private correspondence, it is natural that it has nothing to do with the above.

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Believe me that many of these persons, whom you and our other friends have known as trustworthy and idealists, have become suspect, bastards, and insincere. I give you an example: One of them, in the presence of several people, spoke to me one day and showed me a letter which said that M.N. had written two very important letters to me, etc.

You understand that in this manner an unpleasant story might begin which could end with the tragedy of some one before his time.

I would like to write at length about many things, but for this time I want to add another recommendation, already repeated several times: Try to prepare a contact and a diplomatic accord with the Yugoslav Government and possibly also with us, taking care not to be assimilated, but to assimilate, remembering and studying well the things I have mentioned above. I think that it is in the interests of the country to work with our forces coordinated since Albania expects much of you, and also something of us, although we are poor and less capable of action.

I will write you often. For today, I cordially greet you, along with your family and colleagues, one by one.

I remain your collaborator for the good of our country,

(GJIKCI, Mark, political advisor to Niko
XOKOLI)

The person who will bring you this letter is trustworthy and is ready to cooperate and make any sacrifice whatever for the good of our country. Therefore speak freely with him. He will give you many of my recommendations.

You must take care and be convinced of what I say to you: It is impossible that the Yugoslav Government should work with these persons: 1) VERLACI, Ismajl; 2) GJONMARKAJ, Ndus; 3) KOLIQI, Ernest; 4) DEVA, Ahafer; 5) VIOKA, Ekrem; 6) LIGO, Eduard; 7) SHKRELI, Lin, therefore you make a great mistake and are considered "Enemy Number One" because of the question of irredentism.

I was able to discover this from two of our trustworthy people who have entered the secret service, for one of these is preparing to speak to you about it, in order to rob you of your secrets.

Greetings,

V.S.I.

(GJINAJ, Gjon)

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